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*An Appeal to the Conservative
Men of all Parties 1860*

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AN APPEAL

—TO THE—

CONSERVATIVE MEN OF ALL PARTIES.

THE PRESIDENTIAL QUESTION.

AN IMPORTANT QUESTION—SHALL THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY FOREVER PREVENT ALL USEFUL LEGISLATION, OR SHALL IT BE SETTLED BY THE DOCTRINE OF NON-INTERVENTION?—THE QUESTION FAIRLY STATED.

THE STATE DEBT.

PROFLIGATE LEGISLATION—SQUANDERING OF THE PEOPLE'S MONEY—INCREASED TAXATION—THE GUILTY PARTIES EXPOSED—EVERY TAX-PAYER SHOULD EXAMINE THE FACTS.

The Presidential Campaign of 1860, is one of far more importance than any which has preceded it. Our most conservative statesmen believe that our glorious Union, and all our civil, educational and religious institutions, that have been warmed into life and vigorous prosperity, under our federative system are in imminent danger of destruction, caused by the unhappy and determined differences of opinion on the subject of slavery. It is believed that there is an honorable and practicable solution of the impending difficulty. Let us briefly state the positions of parties and the proposed remedy.

The Republican party (Northern Sectional) demand as their ultimatum on the subject of slavery that Congress shall (intervene) pass laws to prohibit slavery in the territories, without regard to the wishes of the people thereof.

The BRECKENRIDGE party (Southern Sectional) demand as their ultimatum on the subject, that Congress shall (intervene) pass a code of slave laws protecting slavery in the territories, "and wherever else the general government has the power," in defiance of the wishes of the people to be affected thereby.

Both of the sectional parties appear to be quite willing to dissolve the Union, if necessary, to accomplish their object. The principles for which they are both contending are "mere abstractions" for the reason that the people of a territory will not permit slavery to exist within its borders if they

do not want it, and they will have it, if they want it, in defiance of any laws that Congress may pass.

The way to avoid all this difficulty and danger is to return to first principles. Let those who are immediately interested decide the question for themselves.

Non-Intervention or Popular Sovereignty, is the only practical way of avoiding our present complications. The experience of the last ten years proves that our annual Congressional Sessions are, and will continue to be, scenes of violence and disorder, preventing all useful Legislation as long as the distracting subject of slavery remains in its present condition. If the American people decide in favor of the doctrine of non-intervention at the approaching election, by electing DOUGLAS and JOHNSON, the abstract question of slavery in the territories will at once be abandoned, and then Congress will attend to the necessary and important Legislation of the country.

But if they should decide for intervention either for or against slavery, at the next session of Congress will commence the fierce, unyielding and bitter fight, which will only terminate with the destruction of our prosperous and happy confederation.

In order that the reader may fully understand the issues—both State and National—to be decided at the approaching election, we invite his careful attention to the following facts:

EXTRACTS FROM GOV. CHURCH'S SPEECH, at Albany, in June last.

This, fellow citizens, is an extraordinary time. The history of the country furnishes no parallel for its events. There never has been anything like it, and probably never again will be. I wish to say of the nomination of Stephen A. Douglas, that it was made with entire regularity and according to the strict usages of the party. More than two-thirds of all the delegates, and representing twenty-nine States, remained in the Convention after all the seceders had gone out, and from these Stephen A. Douglas received, after a call of the States, a unanimous nomination. I say therefore in the first place, that every good Democrat is bound by the allegiance he owes his party, to support the nomination; and he who does not is a *better* without excuse or palliation. [Long continued applause.] I say, in the next place Stephen A. Douglas at its head, occupies a better and prouder position than it ever did before. [Enthusiastic applause.]

We have on one side a party demanding Congressional intervention to prohibit slavery in the Territories. We have on the other side, a party demanding Congressional intervention to protect slavery in the Territories. Both demand continue the discussion of this irritating question in Congress. Both are laboring to keep the country embroiled and embittered, section against section. Both are seemingly determined to bring about a state of feeling that must end in disruption of the government. Between these antagonistic factions stands the great Democratic party demanding peace! [Loud applause.] With arms not raised in hostility to either section, but entwined in fraternal love around each, it asks that these exciting questions shall be no longer an element of discord and hate—(Cheers.) It says to each section, stand off—keep away—let the people of the Territories, who are most interested, and equally intelligent with ourselves, settle this question of slavery as they settle all other domestic questions within their own limits, for themselves. [Long and loud applause.] This furnishes a solution of the whole slavery question, and I ask you, fellow-citizens, if every fair and patriotic man cannot accept it, North and South? Indeed one of the most gratifying features of the late Convention, and one well calculated to compensate for the unfortunate embarrassments that attended its deliberations, was the fact that a large body of true and patriotic men from the South, came two thousand miles to tell us that these seceders, disunionists at heart, do not represent a majority of the Southern people, but that in the South, as in the North, the honest masses will stand by the Union, and that they, the representative men of the South, stand ready to make war upon the Disunionists, and to vindicate the action and uphold the principles of the National Democracy. Ought we not, fellow-citizens, in the

spirit of fraternal love, to meet these patriotic advances and stand by the Union men of the South? (Cheers.) I believe that we ought to do so, and that the people of the North *will* do so. I am in favor of opening wide the doors of the Democratic Church—of admitting all who are willing to come in and sit beneath the droppings of the Democratic Sanctuary. (Cheers.) I desire that all patriotic men shall join us and participate in this great battle for the Union. We will have no back seats and no front seats. All shall be equal, and shall participate on equal terms in the honors of the triumph.—And if this spirit animates us, I care not for the hostility of rival politicians—I care not for the frowns of official powers.—(Cheers.) I tell you that the great heart of the country is right; and when we present a position so just and so patriotic, the people will rally in their might, and according to their own sovereign pleasure, will bear us onward to victory. (A) plause.)

One word, fellow-citizens, in relation to the position of your delegates on the question of candidates. While we supported Mr. Douglas with earnestness and sincerity, because, we knew he was the choice of nine-tenths of the Democracy of the State; yet, had the seceders remained in the Convention, and had it become evident that Mr. Douglas could not secure the nomination by the regular, legitimate rules of the Democratic party, we should have been ready to vote for any other candidate who stood upon the Democratic platform, and who would have received the fair nomination of the Convention; and in this position, I may add, we had the hearty concurrence of Mr. Douglas himself. (Applause.) But the seceders left before a vote on candidates was reached, and nothing then was left to do, except to put our favored leader into the field. Indeed, for my own part, I thank God that circumstances so transpired as to insure the nomination of Stephen A. Douglas, because in my soul I earnestly believe he is the only man that can lead us on to certain victory. I say it with reverence, but I believe that the hand of an overruling Providence can be seen in all this, so shaping events as to bring forward Stephen A. Douglas as the pacificator and preserver of the Union. (Loud applause.)

No man in this country, except Jackson, ever encountered so much personal hostility, and so many powerful enemies, as has Mr. Douglas. Persecution, and all the vast power of the general government, have combined to crush him down, but like Jackson, he has triumphed over all and like that old hero, I glory in saying he has ever been ready to return to his enemies effective and sturdy blows. (Loud applause.) Stephen A. Douglas is the man for the times. He possesses unsurpassed ability, indomitable courage and energy, and unswerving integrity, which eminently fit him as the leader of the great Democratic party.

REMARKS OF SENATOR DOUGLAS.

We cannot better present the existing issues upon the Presidential question than by giving a portion of Judge DOUGLAS' remarks at Troy, to which we invite your attention :

It was true, as was said by your Mayor in the course of his remarks, that my first speech in the Council Halls of this nation was made in vindication of the old hero of New Orleans, for the performance of that noble act by which he saved his country from the approach of the invader. I felt it my duty, as well as my pleasure, to defend that old hero from the assaults which had been heaped upon him in consequence of that act; and to do what I could to procure him relief from the penalties of a sentence pronounced on account of its performance. And I will say now, that no act of my life has given me more pleasure, or left behind it a sincerer gratification. My only regret now is, in these days of turmoil and danger, when the elements of ruin threaten the happiness of our own beloved country, there is not another "Old Hickory" to put down, not only Abolitionism at the North, but nullification and disunion at the South; to repress the elements of discord and evil wherever they exist, and give peace to our loved country; to pour oil upon the troubled waters, and bid the soaring, swaying waves, "peace, be still." For, my friends, it is vain and criminal to attempt to conceal the fact that the institutions and the happiness of this country are now in greater danger—in more absolute peril—than they have been at any other period in its history. Whenever our institutions have been put in danger from civil commotions in the past, it has always been from the same disturbing cause; it has always been because the Federal Government sought to arrogate to itself some powers that were not delegated to it by the Constitution. We should ever bear in mind, my friends, under our complex system of government, our Federal Administration was intrusted with no powers but such as were purely Federal, and appertain to the control of national interests, and not those which are confined in their operation to peculiar localities that affect the domestic institutions of the people in isolated communities. The Federal Government has no powers but such as are delegated to it under the Constitution, and is especially inhibited from exercising any but these.

Thus, whatever questions are domestic in their character, and do not have a national application—for instance, such as appertain to the relations of husband and wife, parent and child, or master and servant, do not belong to the Federal Government, but are by the terms of the great fundamental instrument removed from it, and left for regulation

and settlement to the people in their sovereign capacity.

All the turmoil, dissension and confusion which now prevail in this country—all the dangers that threaten the very fabric of our Union—arose from the attempt of the Federal Government to ignore those great principles; to arrogate to itself powers that were not vested in it by the Constitution; to assume control over the domestic relations in the Territories of the country, where they should be left to the undisturbed control of the people. We find to-day a Northern sectional party—sectional in its organization sectional in its adherents, sectional in its candidates, and sectional in its platform and principles, which assumes one side of this question, and says that the Federal Government should keep Slavery out of all the Territories of the United States, whether the people want it there or not. And we find on the other hand a Southern sectional party—sectional in its platform and sectional in its principles—which takes the other branch of the issue, and contends that all the power of the Federal Administration, and both Houses of Congress, shall be used to force Slavery into the Territories of the nation, whether the people want it there or not.—The Republican party claim that they should be put in possession of the Federal Government, for the purpose of wielding its whole power and bringing to bear all its machinery against the institution of Slavery in the Territories. They claim that by positive enactment the Federal Government shall prohibit Slavery where the people desire to have it. The sectional party at the South demands that all the power and patronage of the Government shall be put into their hands, to enable them to force the institution upon the people of the Territories who do not want it. Neither propose that the principle shall be determined with any reference to the people, but each is against leaving it to their interpretation. The Republicans tell you that Slavery must be prevented forever and everywhere in the Territories. And the nullification party tell you that Slavery must be maintained forever and everywhere in the Territories. Both would settle the matter without any reference whatever to the wishes of the people. For if the people do not want Slavery they would prevent its existence by means of unfriendly legislation; they need not have it, and intervention to keep them from having it is entirely unnecessary. On the other hand, the Southern party proposes to crowd Slavery where the people will not have it—for if they do want it, assuredly no Congressional legislation is required to force it upon them. So both are seeking to fasten upon the people of the Territories a system of laws which is unnecessary, and which they do not want. There is no difference, in this respect, between

the Northern Abolition Party and the Southern Sectional Party. They both stand in favor of giving to the Federal Government a power which is foreign to the object of its creation; and in this regard the principles of both are subversive of the Constitution. The one would muster all the prejudices and passions of the North to a war of pride upon the habits and the institutions of the South. The other would rally Southern pride and prejudices under a Southern banner, and wield the whole power of the Government against the North. On the other hand the issue presented is that of a sectional contest. Thus you find an "irrepressible conflict" fiercely raging between the two great distinctive sections of this country—a conflict that can only be settled in one of two ways, either by a dissolution of the Union, or by the adoption of the principle of non-intervention with Slavery, or any other domestic institution of the Federal Government—non-intervention now, and non-intervention everywhere—leaving the people of the Territories perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject to no outside control or interference, whatever. The Democratic party stands pledged to this principle now, as it has ever stood; and it will not desert it while the Union exists to be defended. It maintains that the people of the Territories are perfectly able to control their own internal affairs and it proposes to leave them, as it does those of the States, to do it.

I say now and here, as I have always said that the Democratic Party is not entitled to the sole honor for the discovery of the principle of non-intervention. In the great contest of 1848 and 1849, the noble Clay stood firmly and consistently upon this ground; leaving the quiet shades of a coveted retirement, and coming forth again in his reverend old age, to pour oil upon the troubled waters of bitterness and strife. Clay was the leader of all National Union men in that great and heroic struggle, and the Representatives of both the Whig and Democratic Parties rallied about him and gave him their earnest support. For eight or nine months we assembled together in the Council room at 11 o'clock of each day, to consult on measures for healing the existing bitterness, and giving peace to the land. There was the god-like Clay, the father and leader in the movements. And there was the noble Webster upon his left, the venerable Cass upon his right, and around them the men of all parties, uniting for a common purpose in the threatening crisis—all burying our party strife until we could do what was first and most important—until we could save the country.

You all know the result of the great struggle; how at length peace was secured with the adoption of the Compromise measures of 1850—of that bond of agreement which stipulated that there should be no Wilmot Proviso on the one hand, and no slave code

on the other; no Congressional intervention against Slavery at the North, and no Congressional intervention for it at the South; but which, in consonance with the Jeffersonian theory of Government, re-legated the whole vexed subject to the people of the future States, in their sovereign capacity, to be determined by them without interference, and subject only to the Constitution of the United States. That policy thus enunciated in the Compromise measures, was the joint work of the patriotic National men of both parties. Clay and Webster, of the Whig Party, advocated it, and Mr. Fillmore, a Whig President, signed the bill. In 1852 the Whig Party, in their National Convention at Baltimore reaffirmed the principles of the Compromise measures as the true rule of action for all good Whigs in all future time. The same year the same principle was reaffirmed by the Democratic Party, for the government of all good Democrats in all future time. Thus, while Whigs and Democrats continued to differ upon other subjects, all agreed in banishing the Slavery question from the arena of National politics.

I remember that in the Presidential campaign of 1852, the Whigs were in the habit of claiming the principle of non-intervention as a Whig discovery, and clinging fast to it as their peculiar glory. It was my practice to deny this claim, and to assert that the principle of non-intervention had an origin antecedent to the birth of the Whig Party. "But," the Whigs told me "Our Clay was the author of the Compromise, and Webster advocated it, and our Fillmore signed the bill." I was in the habit of acknowledging these facts. "But," I said, "gentlemen, you must admit that while you gave the generals who engineered the movement, Democrats furnished the private soldiers, whose votes in both Houses of Congress carried it through." I say now, therefore, as I have always said, that the honor of adopting the great principle is to be equally divided between both parties. It was the common platform upon which all National Union men stood in harmony. There we stand to-night, and there we will continue to stand so long as the party to which we belong maintains its organization. I have fought for this principle ever since I was in public life, and I do not intend to desert the colors, if I am obliged to stand by them alone. Let me ask you old Whigs whether you intend to abandon the policy that Clay sanctioned and Webster defended. Let me ask you whether you intend to abandon your platform, merely because you find me standing upon it. I do not intend to abandon this plank, which I have fought for myself, if I find every Whig in America standing upon it.

In 1856 the Democrats in the Convention at Cincinnati reaffirmed the doctrine of non-intervention with Slavery. The Americans likewise reaffirmed it, and incorporated their affirmation in the twelfth section of their

platform. I ask you Americans whether you are going to abandon this doctrine now, because you find me defending it? There are not Americans enough in Christendom to drive me from it. James Buchanan and John C. Breckinridge were elected upon this principle. You have not forgotten that Mr. Buchanan, in his letter of acceptance, distinctly said that the platform on which he was placed recognized the right of the people of the Territories, as well as those of the States, to regulate their domestic institutions, including that of Slavery, their own way—that the people should declare for themselves what they wanted. Mr. Breckinridge pledged himself to the same principle in his speech at Lexington, Ky., accepting the nomination for Vice-President. I stood beside him on the same platform at Tippecanoe, and heard him maintain this doctrine, and John C. Breckinridge went as far in its defence as any squatter sovereign ever did.—Neither Buchanan nor Breckinridge would or could have been elected on any other doctrine. Suppose they had come to you here at the North and told you that they did not believe in this principle; that they were in favor of forcing Slavery upon the people who did not want it; how many votes do you suppose they would have got? [Voices—“Not any.”] No, not any. But they have changed. I am as much opposed to intervention now as I was then.

Neither can I comprehend how any good friend of the Union can deliberately go for Congressional intervention. When we look back to the foundation of our Government; when we trace the principles of our Fathers in the Declaration of Independence, we find that this question existed in the earliest history of our country. Our fathers did not object to the pass on of the British Government to make laws which were imperial or general in their operation upon the Colonies as the rest of the Kingdom. What they did protest against was the attempt to interfere with and control their domestic institutions, and arrogate power over affairs which were local to themselves. Our fathers did not desire independence of the Crown in the first instance—they only demanded the right of local self government. When Great Britain denied them that right, then, and not before, they declared independence, as a necessity of acquiring what they had demanded.

Here, you see, that in the days of our early history, the doctrine of non-intervention was the one upon which our fathers fought and triumphed in the bloody battles of the Revolution. And here we must stand if we would enjoy the blessings which our fathers transmitted to us, and prove ourselves worthy of them. If you would maintain the liberty they achieved you must preserve inviolate the principles on which it was founded. You must establish the principle that the people of every

present and coming community shall be free to establish their own laws, and regulate their institutions in the manner that shall best promote their own interests, of which they are the best judges. Preserve that principle, and there will be harmony throughout the land. The fires of sectional agitation will be quenched; the accusations that are bandied from either section will cease; there will be a renewal of harmony between the North and the South; and the people will be brothers once more—bound together by a common fraternity and seeking a common interest, the same as in the glorious times of the Revolution.

I pronounce to you that the Democratic Party has a grand and lofty mission to perform. That mission is to put down Northern Abolitionism and Southern secession by one and the same act; to put down Congressional intervention; put down disunion threatenings; put down the whole disturbing subject, and restore the Government to the basis of peace and security. Government will then have time and ability for the performance of its legitimate duty. You ask your member of Congress why the House did not pass a bill to pay you for service honestly rendered? He tells you because there was no time. You ask him why the Post office system was not so matured as to be a self-sustaining instead of a pauper one? Because there was no time. You ask him why some revenue system is not devised, so that the Government would support itself, instead of running behind twenty millions a year? Because there was no time. You ask him what has become of the Pacific Railroad? Fremont was pledged to it; Buchanan was pledged to it; Fillmore was pledged to it. Everybody and all parties were in favor of it? Why, then, has it not been built? Because there was no time. Because the Slavery question absorbed all other questions, and occupied all the time.

There was time enough to make speeches for and against Slavery in the Territories; time enough to make canals resolutions and settle the machinery of a Presidential campaign; time enough to form and discuss a Congressional slave code; time enough to fight and wrangle over the negro, but not a particle to appropriate to the interests of white men. Now, my friends, we maintain that this Government was made by white men, for the benefit of white men, and that it should be administered by white men to promote the interest of white men forever. And I would protect the inferior races to the fullest extent in the enjoyment of every natural right to which they are entitled.

I would banish the Slavery question at once and forever from the field of national politics, giving Congress time to attend to its legitimate duties, and leaving the people to say what they will do with the institution.

THE STATE DEBT!!

THE PUBLIC WORKS

And Who is Responsible for the Present Embarrassed Condition of the State.

The Tax-Payers are invited to an examination of this Subject.

We propose in this and other articles to present a full and truthful statement of the past and present financial condition of the State, and to show who is responsible for the present over shadowing State Debt and annually increasing taxation.

The original Erie Canal, under the auspices of the lamented WILLIAM C. BOUCK and his associates, was completed with great economy. Means were always provided for the prompt repayment of all monies borrowed for that purpose, without a resort to new loans or taxation, previous to the loan's being made. Its whole cost under their rigid system of economy was only SEVEN MILLIONS of dollars.

In 1835 applications were made to the Legislature, for the enlargement of the State Canals. The subject was referred by the Legislature to the Canal Board, which consisted, at that time, of WM. C. BOUCK, S. VAN RENSSELAER, G. C. BRONSON, A. C. FLAGG, JOHN A. DIX, WM. CAMPBELL and MICHAEL HOFFMAN.

The members of the Canal Board were, at that time, all Democrats. All the Canals up to that period that had been projected or completed had been under the exclusive control and management of Democratic officials. The Canal Board made a report to the Legislature, recommending the enlargement on the following financial basis:

1. To reserve out of the Canal Revenues moneys enough to pay off the original canal debt, which they thought could be accomplished in 1835-6-7.

2. To enlarge the canal out of the surplus revenues of the canals, "*without having recourse to new loans*;" or in other words, *without running in debt*.

We quote the concluding portion of the report in question:

"In urging upon the consideration of the Legislature the importance of authorising at the present session such an enlargement of the Erie canal as is conceived to be necessary to adapt it to the increasing trade of the country, the Canal Board desires to have it distinctly understood that they do not recommend such an expenditure of money upon this work as will interfere with the arrangements now in progress for accumulating a sum sufficient to pay the Erie and Champlain Canal Debt, and for restoring the auction and salt duties to the General Fund.

The Nett proceeds of the Canal Fund for 1835, '36 and '37, will probably be sufficient to pay the Canal debt, and meet the disbursements on the contract for doubling the locks. * * *

After the period alluded to, THE NETT PROCEEDS OF THE CANAL TOLLS WILL BE

SUFFICIENT TO MEET THE DISBURSEMENTS NECESSARY FOR IMPROVING AND ENLARGING THE CANALS WITHOUT HAVING RECOURSE TO NEW LOANS for that purpose.

WM. C. BOUCK, Canal Commissioner
S. VAN RENSSELAER, Canal Commissioner
A. C. FLAGG, Comptroller,
JOHN A. DIX, Sec'y of State,
GREENE C. BRONSON, Attorney General,
WM. CAMPBELL, Surveyor General,
MICHAEL HOFFMAN, Canal Commissioner

The law for the Enlargement, passed in 1835, preserved the principles of this report and directed the work to be paid for out of the surplus canal revenues, and made no provision for borrowing.

The Democratic policy of economy in regard to the enlargement and completion of the State canals, as set forth in the above extract from the report of the Commissioners of the Canal Fund, was closely adhered to, up to the close of the year 1837, at which time a large amount of money had been expended on the enlargement of the Erie Canal. The work on the Genesee Valley and other lateral Canals had been vigorously prosecuted; but the entire outstanding Canal debt on the 31st of June, 1837, was only \$6,116,082. From the commencement of the Erie Canal to the close of the year 1837, the internal improvements of the State had been in the charge of Democratic hands, and they had completed the Erie, Lake Champlain, Chemung, and the Chautauque Canals. The Genesee Valley Canal was then completed as far South as Avon, and a large amount had been expended on the enlargement of the Erie Canal, and as before stated, the Canal debt of the State was only a trifle over six millions, and provisions had been made for its re-payment at maturity.

Such was the condition of the State finances and the public works, at the time SEWARD, WEED, RUGGLES & Co., were ushered into power, having the full control of the State government, except the Governor.

To show that the Democratic anti-run-in-debt policy had worked admirably, and promoted the highest and best interest of the State, we will give the testimony of the friend and leader of the debt-creating policy. Gov. SEWARD, in his first Message in January, 1839, said:

History knows no parallel to the financial achievements of this State. It has carried forward a stupendous system of improvement, *all the while DIMINISHING its debt, magnifying its credit, and augmenting its resources*—

The above was but a just tribute to the able and sagacious Democratic statesmen, who, for some fifteen years had so prudently and efficiently managed the affairs of the State, as to place its financial condition in such a commanding and enviable position.

In the foregoing remarks we have briefly alluded to the extensive and costly works of internal improvements which had been completed, and those which had been commenced and vigorously prosecuted up to the close of the year 1837, and of the satisfacto-

and prosperous condition of the State finances, and its high credit with our own and foreign capitalists at that period.

We will now invite the attention of our readers, and the tax-payers of the county and the State, to a brief examination of the history of our State indebtedness; the progress of our works of internal improvement, and the general financial condition of the State, from the close of the year 1837 to 1859.

The opponents of the Democratic party, under the lead and exclusive control of SEWARD, WEED, GREELEY, RUGGLES & Co. came into power, and had the entire control of State legislation in January, 1838, and they at once abandoned the "pay-as-you-go" policy, which for some fifteen years had been so rigidly adhered to by the Democratic party. The cry was at once raised that our State improvements were progressing too slowly, and the Albany *Evening Journal*, and other SEWARD organs, denounced the cautious policy of the Democratic party.—The *Journal* said, in speaking of the works of internal improvement of the State, that she "*remains in her shell, losing rank and caste, while Pennsylvania was rapidly developing her resources, &c.*" The project of a \$40,000,000 debt for internal improvement, was devised by SEWARD, WEED, RUGGLES & Co. Mr. RUGGLES, in a report from the Committee of Ways and Means of the Assembly, proclaimed the new financial theory, in a long and visionary report, in which he said:

A sum of thirty millions might be borrowed and expended and finally reimbursed within twenty years, of forty millions might be so borrowed and expended, and reimbursed in twenty-eight years.

The Legislature acted upon that report, and actually increased the State debt by a new loan of \$3,490,061—as will be seen by a table hereafter, and that was the fatal false step which has involved us in a large debt, and perpetual taxation.

This was the inception of the policy of a *forty million debt*. The next year (1839) Mr. SEWARD, in his first Message as Governor, endorsed Mr. RUGGLES' theory, and recommended it as the "policy of the State," in the following language:

I respectfully refer you to a Report of a Committee of the last House, in which this subject is discussed, with eminent ability, and which results in showing that the Canals are property substantially unencumbered; that their productiveness would warrant the State in expending in internal improvements \$4,000,000 annually, during the period of ten years; and that the revenue of the Canals alone would reimburse this expenditure previous to 1855. This sum exceeds any estimate of the expense required to complete the entire system, while it is not to be doubted that the parts yet to be constructed, will eventually be productive. The conclusions of this Report, although of vast interest to the State and I trust *decisive of its policy*, have not been questioned.

Thus, was the plan of increasing the indebtedness of the State to \$40,000,000, deliberately inaugurated by SEWARD, WEED, GREELEY, and their supporters.

We cannot more clearly present the history of the debt creating policy of the opponents of the Democratic party, than by presenting a tabular statement, showing the date of all Canal Loans; the amount paid thereon, and showing the amount of Canal debt at the close of each fiscal year, from 1825 forward. Showing, also, the party in power, and the principal eras of our Canal history.

		Borrowed.	Paid.	Canal debt 30th Sept. each year.
1825	.....	.....	.....	\$7737770
1836, (Dem.) C. & S.	.....	.....	.....	.....
canal built,	.....	377,000	270,000	7844770
1827, do	.....	.....	91,615	7750155
1828, do Oswego.	.....	210,000	20,000	7940155
1829, do	.....	87,000	321,142	7706013
1830, do	.....	150,003	30,977	7825035
1831, do	.....	240,263	9,653	8055645
1832, do	.....	.....	.....	8055645
1833, do	.....	95,737	1,478,376	6673006
1834, do Chemung.	.....	950,000	588,006	7034999
1835, do Crook'd Lk.	.....	.....	706,943	6328056
1836, do	.....	650,000	651,249	6326806
1837, do Chenango.	.....	810,920	971,644	6166082
1838, (Whigs) "New	.....	.....	.....	.....
Impulse".	.....	3,493,061	351,023	9303120
1839, do	.....	1,445,000	67,300	10785830
1840, do	.....	3,478,553	137,726	14126647
1841, do broke down	.....	2,213,497	33,700	16306374
1842, dem.	.....	3,411,618	143,600	19574392
1843, do	.....	1,002,700	184,763	20392324
1844, do	.....	655,000	333,418	20713902
1845, do	.....	245,000	1,268,884	19690020
1846, do	.....	300,000	2,961,780	17028240
1847, do N.Con. Sk'g	.....	.....	.....	.....
F'd.	.....	.....	284,490	16748749
1848, (Whigs).....	.....	489,819	519,919	16713649
1849, do	.....	150,000	358,204	16505342
1850, do	.....	192,535	482,786	16215144
1851, do stop'd pay't	.....	1,000,000	573,609	16641534
1852, dem.	.....	700,000	340,265	17091269
1853, do	.....	.....	.....	17091269
1854, Rep. Amend Con	.....	2,250,000	479,025	18772244
1855, do	.....	3,750,000	2,240,911	20281333
1856, do	.....	6,750,000	1,489,266	22542066
1857, do stop'd pay't	.....	2,750,000	102,285	25189781
1858, dem.	.....	2,200,000	2,929,767	24460614

From the foregoing table it appears that:—
Democrats were in power twenty years,
and borrowed,..... \$4,240,000
And paid (mostly Whig debts,)..... 11,010,839

Democrats paid more than they borow'd 6,470,839
Whigs and Republicans were in office,
thirteen years, and borrowed..... \$6,576,834
Paid only..... 12,754,932

Whigs and Republicans borrowed more
than they paid..... \$23821899

To which should be added the \$2,500,000 borrowed last fall, to pay the "floating debt" contracted by the SEWARD Republicans, which increases the canal debt to \$26,960,614.

The first important era presented by the above table, is that the canal debt in 1825, was \$7,737,770, at which time the Erie and the Cayuga and Seneca canals had been built, and from that period to 1837, large sums had been expended on the enlargement of the Erie, and in building the Oswego and Chemung, Crooked Lake, and the Chenango canals, and at the close of the year 1837, it will be seen that the canal debt had been reduced to \$6,166,082.

The second noticeable era, which was developed under "new impulse" of SEWARD, WEED, GREELEY, RUGGLES & Co., was an increase of canal loans from 1838 to 1841 of \$10,140,292. The enormous sum of over ten millions was authorized by the Legislature, borrowed and mostly squandered by SEWARD, WEED, GREELEY, RUGGLES & Co., in four years in addition to the surplus Revenues, and the premiums obtained for the first two years upon 5 and 6 per cent. loans. When the Sewardites took possession of the public works, State stocks commanded a handsome premium. Everything of course went on swimmingly until the summer and fall of 1841, when capitalists and every one else became alarmed at the reckless prodigality of the Sewardites, as it was known that at least half of the ten millions borrowed had been squandered on party favorites, instead of applying the money to the payment of contracts for canal work. The wanton spirit of profligacy which had characterized the Legislature and the State offices during the four years, had so completely destroyed the credit of the State, that Governor SEWARD and his canal Board were unable to sell State stocks for more than 78 cents on the dollar, and no considerable amount could be sold at that ruinous depreciation. Large amounts were then becoming due, and payable in whole on canal contracts, which the SEWARD officials were unable to borrow money to pay, and in October 1841, the "new impulse" policy of the Sewardites, which was ushered into existence with such a flourish of trumpets in 1838-9, broke down in 1841, when the public works were stopped, and the State again compelled to suspend payment.

The tax-payers, and all sensible men of the State were so incensed against the reckless and shameful improvidence of the SEWARDITES, that the Democrats carried the State, at the fall election in 1841 by an overwhelming majority. The Democratic Legislature that assembled in January, 1842 found the State treasury bankrupt, and over three millions of dollars owing to creditors, who were clamorous for their pay. The Committee of Ways and Means of the House, and the Finance Committee of the Senate, adopted at once a financial policy, for the purpose of relieving the pressing demands of creditors and re-establishing the credit of the State. A law was passed creating a State tax of one mill, and other measures were adopted, which brought the credit of the State up to par. It will also be seen that it was necessary to borrow in 1842 \$3,411,618, to pay up contractors and others—debtors that had been contracted by the SEWARDITES. The table also shows the condition of the State finances from 1842 up to the close of the year 1847, during which time the Democrats mainly had the control of the affairs of the State and the system of economy which they adopted reduced the State indebtedness nearly THREE MILLIONS of dollars.

It is proper to remark here, that the new Constitution went into effect in 1847, with its string-of financial provisions which prohibited State Legislatures from borrowing money in the reckless manner which had been adopted by the friends of the "more speedy enlargement" policy. In the fall of 1846, JOHN YOUNG was elected Governor, and also a debt-creating Legislature, but the financial provisions of the New Constitution prevented any increase of indebtedness during Gov. YOUNG and HAMILTON FISKE's administrations. WASHINGTON HUNT took the gubernatorial chair in 1851, with a Legislature strongly imbued with the "more speedy enlargement" policy, and various efforts were then made to get round the Constitutional provisions against enlarging the State debt. The SEWARDITES, at this period had become speedy, and anxious to the last degree, for spoils and plunder. The government officials, aided by the "inevitable" Ruggles, finally decided upon a scheme for raising \$9,000,000, by the issue of Revenue Certificates to complete the Canals, and for partizan plunder, without, as they facetiously claimed, increasing the debt of the State.—Therefore, on a mere pledge of the "Canal Revenues," the lender expressly releasing the State from any liability resulting from a failure of the revenues, they borrowed \$1,500,000. The conspirators against the honor and credit of the State, were at the same time compelled to pass a law, repealing the act, imposing tolls upon the Railroads of the State. It was claimed by SEWARD, WEED and RUGGLES, that this transparent juggle avoided the constitutional prohibition against increasing the State debt. Thus was the Legislature of 1851 deluded into the belief that they had successfully defeated the wise provisions of the Constitution, by the above unconstitutional act. The spoilsmen, as above stated, raised \$1,500,000 by the issue of "revenue certificates."

In the meanwhile, the SEWARD lobby, with the double purpose of plunder and the elevation of Mr. SEWARD to the Presidency in 1852, organized and controlled the distribution of the \$9,000,000 of contracts by placing them, as far as possible, in the *right hands*, and giving them to the *highest bidder*. The grand scheme of debt and plunder was brought to a dead stand by Mr. NEWELL, the able and efficient Democratic Canal Auditor, who refused to recognize the unconstitutional revenue act for raising money, or to recognize the Canal Contracts upon which the money was to be squandered.

The Legislature, then in session, passed a law, of a single section, directing him to place the \$9,000,000 contracts "on file" in his office. He refused to obey it, on the ground that they were not "contracts" in the meaning of an existing law which required him to pay upon *contracts* "on file" in his office. In the meanwhile the mandamus suit had been carried to the Court of Appeals, where it was elaborately argued by

the Auditor's counsel, Messrs. DENIO, BEARDSLEY, and J. O. SPENCER, and the whole scheme, with all its attendant absurdities, its conflicts with the Constitution, and its "well laid schemes" of plunder and speculation, was set aside as void. The decision of the Court was gratefully received by an outraged people who felt that the State had been measurably shielded from dishonor; and not a murmur of disapprobation was heard.

The Sewardites, in the blind confidence that their attempt to rob and embarrass the people would be sustained by the Courts, pressed forward the contracts they had entered into under the nine million revenue impulse, so rapidly, and so much beyond the means of payment, that another and second collapse and stoppage of the public works was the result, which necessarily led to the increase of the State tax under the first year of Gov. SEYMOUR'S administration, the most of which was paid on canal contracts.

The amendment of the Constitution, to borrow \$9,000,000, to complete the Canals was finally adopted as the only practicable means of getting rid of the contracts entered into by the Sewardites, under their "Canal revenue certificates," and other complications growing out of that wild financial scheme.—The people consented to this amendment under the most positive assurance that \$9,000,000 would be ample to complete all the public works. The amendment was therefore adopted in 1854, and subsequent facts show that if the amount borrowed under the amendment of the Constitution, had been honestly expended, that sum would have been more than sufficient to complete all the public works. But the SEWARD Republicans came into power in 1854, and as all their traditional proclivities for peculation and plunder were sharpened and vastly intensified by a few years of abstinence, the result of their reckless, partizan management, may be seen in the statement of the following facts: In three years the \$9,000,000 was all borrowed and spent, though the borrowing was limited by the amendment to \$2,500,000 per year, which would take four years. It was loaned at an interest of six per cent., when a premium could have been had for it at five and for the sole purpose of getting a high premium on the stock, which amounted to about \$1,500,000.

The money being all spent, and the power to borrow exhausted, there was, in the first year of Gov. KING, another and a THIRD suspension of payment and stoppage of work. But the circumstances of this stoppage, and the occasion of it, and the condition of the finances, are worthy of notice. The amendment provided for \$9,000,000, as an ample sum to complete all the works. Let us now see what is the present condition of the means and the works:

Borrowed under amendment, \$9,000,000
Premium on a 6 per cent. stock, say.... 1,500,000
Taxes for the Canals in the last 5 years, 8,600,000

Floating debt paid by loan in Dec. 1859, 2,500,000
Work to be done, say..... 1,500,000

Cost of this work, nearly three times the original cost of the Erie Canal, \$18,000,000

This is double the estimate of five years ago. The sum of \$16,500,000 has been pronounced and spent, and it will probably require over \$5,000,000 more to complete the public works and discharge the numerous claims for Canal damages. It will be seen by the table giving the amount of the State debt at the close of each fiscal year, that the \$10,500,000, together with the State taxes, was rapidly expended under the SEWARD Republican rule. In the year 1856, under Gov. CLARK'S administration, it will be seen that nearly \$7,000,000 was borrowed.

This system of reckless prodigality was pursued until the Fall of 1857, when the third grand era in our Canal history was reached—the third brake down and stoppage of the public works—after spending \$12,500,000, including \$3,000,000 from taxes, and leaving a "floating debt" of several millions unprovided for. The contracts, it will be recollected, were let at a sum less than \$9,000,000.

The inquiry which has long agitated, and which continues painfully to disturb the public mind is, how, if, with an estimate of \$9,000,000, the sum of \$14,000,000 has been honestly expended, the sum of \$5,000,000 more should be necessary.

The coincidence between this doubling of the estimate for the completion of the Canals, made only five years ago, and the more than doubling of the taxes for the support of the government, both during the five years of Governors CLARK, KING and MORGAN, affords matter for serious reflection. Both are evidences of a profligacy of expenditure of which there is no similar example in the history of the government. With the fact that there is no successful effort in any quarter to look into such enormities—no voice of deprecation or warning from press or people—they furnish proof of a stolid indifference on the part of the community, which is more alarming, even, than the fact that such things can happen and be repeated in a professedly free government. If they are to continue, "self-government" is a delusion and a snare. May we not indulge the hope that they are peculiar to the SEWARD Republican party, with whom they commenced?

It should not be forgotten that the Legislature of 1859 refused to permit an examination to be made into the manner in which this large sum had been expended, notwithstanding two of the then Commissioners proposed were SEWARD Republicans—Comptroller DENNISTON, and JOHN T. CLARK, a former State Engineer.

The present indebtedness of the State, may be stated as follows:

General Fund debt, \$8,505,854 37
Canal Stock debt, 24,469,014 48
Canal Stock to pay "floating debt,".. 2,500,000 00

Contingent debt—Stocks loaned to Corporations, worthless,.....	770,000 00
Estimated Canal claims for construction and Canal damages, including the balance due on "floating debt,".....	5,800,000 00
	\$40,635,668 75

Does any one doubt the correctness of the estimate of the last item in the above statement? If so, let them examine but two single enactments of the Legislature of last Winter, out of over one hundred of Canal claims. The amount of the surplus water claims of Lockport is, in the aggregate, \$646,000. In another act for the settlement of work done on the Erie Canal, over \$100,000 is claimed. Over \$60,000 is still due on awards for diversion of the waters of the Black River. There is, at least, one hundred other claims for Canal damages, besides large unsettled claims for construction.—We think \$5,800,000, is below the actual amount the State will be compelled ultimately to pay on the above claims. Mr. CONKLING, a Republican Member of the Legislature from the city of New York, and Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means of the Assembly, in a speech on the last day of the session, stated the items of the State debt, and proved that it then amounted to \$40,000,000.

Years.	Gross tolls in each fiscal year.	Expense of collection, superintendence and ordinary repairs.	"Nett proceeds" each year.
1836	\$1,598,455 48	\$ 467,599 33	\$1,130,856 15
1837	1,325,609 17	608,992 60	716,616 17
1838	1,655,275 16	622,027 29	843,249 87
1839	1,655,788 56	504,757 58	1,151,026 03
1840	1,606,827 28	575,020 58	1,031,806 70
1841	1,989,666 71	514,517 55	1,475,169 16
1842	1,797,163 80	642,584 30	1,154,879 50
1843	1,953,329 08	531,145 56	1,422,683 52
1844	2,389,457 34	636,857 12	1,751,699 62
1845	2,375,533 43	738,106 32	1,637,427 11
1846	2,798,849 76	639,353 01	2,159,496 75
1847	3,463,710 26	643,766 08	2,819,944 18
1848	3,156,968 38	855,850 64	2,301,117 74
1849	3,378,920 18	635,803 91	2,893,117 27
1850	3,393,081 37	835,965 81	2,557,115 56
1851	3,703,999 34	907,730 20	2,796,269 14
1852	3,174,357	1,049,045	2,125,811 57
1853	3,162,490	1,098,476	2,063,713 22
1854	2,982,114	1,237,806	1,744,248 77
1855	2,672,906	989,792	1,683,114 00
1856	2,721,740	786,623	1,935,107 23
1857	2,529,866	970,453	1,561,350 92
1858	2,072,204	1,078,878	993,325 97

\$39,709,048 14

Add the sum which has been levied by taxation for canal purposes, for the same period..... 3,147,190 87

\$42,856,237 01

In Senate document 7, page 149—1858.
Deduct the amount actually paid on account of the canals, as stated in the Comptrollers Report of 1859.. 42,269,179 81

Surplus..... \$587,060 00

The above statement shows the amount of money received for canal purposes, and the whole amount paid out on the various works of internal improvement. It also shows that there should have been a surplus in the State Treasury at the above date, of \$587,060 00. In this view of the above facts, it is certainly important for the TAX-PAYERS to inquire what has become of the above surplus, and it is still more important to know what has become of the money received upon loans, and how it happens that the canal debt of the State at the same time, was \$24,469,014 48, and what their public servants have done with that very large sum of money, together with the premiums received on loans of several millions. Another important inquiry would be, as to how many of the forty-two millions actually expended, is the result of the reckless run-in-debt plan adopted by the visionary friends of the more speedy enlargement policy which has been pursued since the abandonment of the prudent system adopted in 1835 and 6?—how many millions are chargeable to extravagance and favoritism of party friends; and how many to the frauds of Canal Commissioners, Engineers and Contractors?

The State Comptroller in his report of 1859, in speaking of the amount of money received from surplus canal revenues and taxes, page 27, says:

"It is believed not to be an extravagant estimate to say, that a faithful application of the revenue

DEBT AND TAXATION.

LARGE AMOUNTS OF THE PEOPLE'S MONEY HAVE BEEN SQUANDERED—AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE CANAL FRAUDS REFUSED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF 1859.

In the foregoing statements, we have shown the condition and progress of the Public Works, the time and manner of contracting the present State in indebtedness, the circumstances connected with the three periods of State suspension and bankruptcy, and the causes which produced those three disastrous results. We propose in this article, to show that a large amount of the people's money has been squandered by the servants of the people, and shall, so far as facts and circumstances will permit, place the frauds that have been committed upon the guilty parties. We have shown that the present indebtedness of the State reaches the large sum of over \$40,000,000, and that the present (stock) canal debt is \$25,960,614.

For the purpose of showing that there has been a gross and wasteful expenditure of the public funds, we will give an official statement of the amount of the surplus revenues of the canals, from 1836, to January 1859, and the amount expended for the construction of the Public Works:

to the purposes designed would have accomplished all that has been done, and left a surplus which would have finished the works, nearly satisfied all the contributions to the General Fund, and left us comparatively free from debt, and entirely free from taxation."

The above facts show conclusively, that if the prudent policy which governed the Democratic party, from 1825, to the close of 1837, had been pursued, that all our Public Works would have now been fully completed, and the State entirely clear of debt, and of course, free from taxation. It was, therefore, a great mistake that the people made in placing the State Government in the hands of Messrs. SEWARD, WEED, RUGGLES & Co., in 1833. It is worthy of notice, that every increase of indebtedness has been made by the opponents of the Democratic party, and that they have since 1833, three times been compelled to stop payment, and abandon the Public Works, as follows: in 1841, in 1851, and in 1854. It is also worthy of special notice, that the Democratic party have always adhered to the pay-as-you-go policy adopted in 1833, and that since 1837, when they have been in power, they have invariably annually decreased the State debt. A comparison between the two systems may be stated as follows:

The Democratic Policy, recommended by Gov. BOUCK, and his associates, would have secured us the completion of the following Canals:

The Erie Canal Enlargement; the Oswego Canal Enlargement; the Genesee Valley Canal; the Black River Canal.

There would now be a clear nett annual surplus of Canal Tolls, of over One million of dollars, applicable to the expenses of Government.

The mill and one-eighth tax for the support of Government could be repealed. The tax of 3½ mills for this year would not have been levied.

No tax to pay interest would be necessary. And to crown all, the State would be free from debt.

The SEWARD-RUGGLES policy, on the contrary, has overwhelmed us with a debt of over Forty millions of dollars; the payment of which will impose upon the people many years of grinding taxation, and in addition to this, and in aggravation of it the canals are not yet completed.

They refuse an investigation. A fruitless attempt was made in 1858, by a Democratic member of the House, before calling on the people for more money, to have these expenditures investigated, and he gave notice of a bill for that purpose, the title, preamble, and first section of which was as follows:

AN ACT to provide for an investigation into alleged frauds on the Canals.

The people of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:—

WHEREAS, an amendment of the Constitution of this State, was adopted by the people at an election held in the month of February, 1854, which authorized the borrowing of Nine millions of dollars to complete the Public Works; and

WHEREAS, it appears from the Reports of the Public Officers, that the cost is to be about Eight-

teen millions, or about double the estimates, on which the amendment was based; and

WHEREAS, it is alleged and universally believed that extensive frauds have been committed in the expenditure of the money, and which have led to the enormous increase of expense; and

WHEREAS, the people are to be again called on to furnish, in the shape of taxes or loans, additional means of about Five millions of dollars to complete the Canals; and

WHEREAS, it is due to the people before calling on them for further contributions of money, that an earnest effort should be made to investigate the alleged frauds for the purpose of guarding against their repetition in the expenditure of the additional means required.

SEC. 1. ROBERT DENNISTON, of the county of Orange, JOHN T. CLARK, of the county of Oneida, and DARIUS A. OGDEN, of the county of Yates, are hereby appointed Commissioners, with power to inquire into and fully investigate the said alleged frauds upon the Canals of this State, and all the acts of persons in any way connected with the expenditure of the monies raised for their construction, completion or maintenance.

So averse was the immaculate Republican majority to have the investigation prosecuted, that, though the majority of the Commission proposed was of their own men, Messrs. DENNISTON, their candidate for Comptroller, and Mr. CLARK, their former State Engineer, the bill could never be got before the House—the frequent efforts to that end being always met by points of order, or other difficulties which forced the abandonment of the attempt.

The Republicans did not dare to permit a legal investigation into their canal management by honorable men of their own party. Does not their refusal show conclusively that they were the guilty parties, who have so basely squandered the people's money and entailed many long years of grinding taxation upon the people of this State? Will the tax-payers again trust this class of SEWARD and WEED Republicans with the management of their State affairs? Can they as good citizens do less than to oppose them by their votes in the approaching State Election?

OPPRESSIVE AND RUINOUS TAXATION—THE STATE TAX FOR 1860—PROFLIGATE LEGISLATION.

The Legislature of 1857, which was more than three to one Republican, freely engaged in partizan Legislation of the most ruinous character to the State treasury, and to obtain the money to meet speculative and prodigal legislation, they levied a State tax of 2¼ mills, which amounted to \$3,221,775, and this large amount was not sufficient to pay all of the unnecessary appropriations they made. The increase was so large, and their legislation was proved to be so corrupt and shameful, that the tax-payers in the fall of 1857, reversed the Republican majority of 1856 of 80,000, and elected the Democratic State ticket, and in 1858 the tax was reduced about half a million of dollars. At the election of 1859, the Republicans, by a fusion with the Americans in most of the Senate and Assembly districts, had a very large majority in the last Legislature. The acts of the last Legislature are admitted on all hands to be the most profligate and corrupt of any legislative body that ever convened in this or any other professedly free State.

The tax which they levied upon the different counties of the State, we give in full.

The State tax the present year is the largest ever known. From a careful compilation of the value of property, as reported by State Assessors, in Assembly Document No. 11 of 1861, the following are the amounts to be paid in by each county, to satisfy the 3¼ mill State tax, levied by the last legislature.

Albany.....	\$ 147,196 18	Oneida.....	\$62,404 15
Allegheny....	32 186 42	Onondaga....	99 136 23
Broome.....	27 820 23	Ontario.....	6 304 80
Cattaraugus..	27 128 28	Orange.....	96 339 95
Cayuga.....	72 051 97	Orleans.....	35,083 64
Chautauqua..	54,932 38	Oswego.....	55,971 01
Cheaugus....	26 620 07	Otsego.....	45,238 33
Chenango....	11,207 08	Putnam.....	19,265 74
Clinton.....	23,240 55	Queens.....	76,064 09
Columbia....	54 914 80	Rensselaer..	100,028 30
Cortland....	21 637 01	Richmond...	27,889 95
Delaware....	32 192 15	Rockland...	22 010 34
Dutchess....	109,037 93	Saratoga....	44 667 84
Erie.....	178,410 12	Schenectady..	21,358 91
Essex.....	16 650 84	Schoharie....	21,099 00
Franklin....	16,704 72	Schoharie....	29,958 92
Fulton.....	16,622 87	Seneca.....	15,980 54
Genesee.....	49,240 14	St. Lawrence.	55,958 13
Green.....	27,030 01	Steuben.....	60,493 45
Hamilton....	1,772 21	Suffolk.....	41,235 35
Herkimer....	37,471 21	Sullivan.....	15,506 23
Jefferson....	59,200 88	Tioga.....	20,772 74
Kings.....	400 929 73	Tompkins....	23,093 59
Lewis.....	14,732 00	Ulster.....	55 097 02
Livinston....	53,704 56	Warren.....	9,359 10
Madison....	43,177 81	Washington..	59,469 15
Monroe.....	103 632 37	Wayne.....	60,722 90
Montgomery	32,716 81	Westchester.	174 223 77
New York....	2,070,03 75	Wyoming....	31,326 90
Niagara....	51,635 33	Yates.....	23,981 80

Total.....\$3,311,090 64

This raises the enormous sum of \$3,311,090 64

If a tax of FIVE MILLIONS THREE HUNDRED AND ELEVEN THOUSAND NINETY DOLLARS AND SIXTY FOUR CENTS, to be paid the present fall and winter, does not arouse the tax payers to an examination of the causes which have produced such a large and oppressive tax, it is certain that they are indifferent to their most important duties as citizens. The amount that Jefferson County will have to pay is FIFTY-NINE THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED DOLLARS AND EIGHTY-EIGHT CENTS, beside their town and County taxes. The Legislature, in addition, proposed to donate ONE MILLION OF DOLLARS to the Albany and Susquehanna R. R. Co. and passed an act authorizing the levy of a direct tax for that purpose; but that scheme of speculation and plunder was stopped by the Governor's veto. Yet the New York *Tribune* charges that the Governor's veto of that and the swindling "grid iron" Railroad bill, was a sham on the Governor's part, as it had been informed that the Governor had used his influence to have the bills passed by the Legislature, over his veto's.

To show that we have done no injustice to the last Republican Legislature, we give the following from a recent number of the New York *Tribune*:

"It is an undeniable fact, that the last Legislature of this State was in part composed of as graceless a set of political demagogues, public plunderers, corrupt place-seekers, and low-bred pot-house politicians, as ever went unwhipped of justice. And a majority of those were the phantoms of Thurlow Weed."

Yes, THURLOW WEED was the great broker of the session.

The *Tribune* had the following complimentary notice of their adjournment:

"The Legislature—let us be reverently thankful for all mercies—has adjourned at last! This is the oil of consolation which softens all earthly afflictions—they come to an end. And we do not believe it possible that another body so reckless not merely of RIGHT but of DECENCY—not merely CORRUPT but SHAMELESS—will be assembled in our halls of legislation within the next ten years.

Several other Republican journals have spoken in equally strong terms, in regard to the base conduct of the last Legislature.

At the recent Republican State Convention the efforts of the *Tribune* and other Republican journals were treated with contempt by THURLOW WEED, and his lobby friends, who had the control of the State Convention.

For the purpose of showing that the charge made by Mr. Greeley of the *Tribune*, was true, "that he (Greeley) had been assured that it could be proved that Gov. MORGAN used his influence to have the Legislature pass certain bills over his veto," we will show the general character of the delegates, and the men that had the entire control of the recent Convention that re-nominated Gov. MORGAN. We give the facts on this subject as we find them reported by Mr. LEVIENE, the able correspondent of the Associated Press.

"Mr. Weed had a thorough understanding with Morgan—that the vetoes were prepared under the direction of the former—and that the entire executive influence was used to drive the vetoed bills through both houses over the pretended objections of the Governor.

Let us look at the proof. Every man who figured prominently on the floor or in the lobby in favor of the vetoed schemes of plunder, is now in Syracuse the warm and earnest advocate of Mr. Morgan's re-nomination.

The West Washington Market bill—the City Railroad bills, and all the other thievish measures of last winter were supported and lobbied for by Gov. Morgan's body-guard of office-holders, all of whom are here, casting up their caps for Morgan's nomination.

The Senators, Assemblymen and Clerks who have been assailed by Mr. Greeley, as the principal legislative robbers, are to a man, the advocates of Gov. Morgan, whose vetoes, had they been honestly made, would have stamped them all as corrupt knaves.

Glance for a moment at the disinterested character of Morgan's loud-mouthed applauders. I can give you but a minute portion of those who are on hand driving through the Convention the Albany "state."

Before my window, gathered in groups, I see at this moment the following representatives of the several sums placed against their names, all drawn from the State Treasury, under the kind patronage of Gov. Morgan:

Schultz, Harbor Master, draws per an., \$	8,000
Annable, " " " "	8,000
Coulter, " " " "	8,000
Marston, " " " "	8,000
Van Valkenburgh, " " " "	8,000
Benedict, " " " "	8,000
Barber, " " " "	8,000
Robert Murray, " " " "	8,000
Lou Lounsbury, Port Warden, about...	5,000
Sam'l Russell, " " " "	5,000
William Richardson, Clerk of Assembly, with perquisites, &c., about.....	25,000
Luther Caldwell, deputy Clk, " " " "	20,000

L. G. Brainard, grantee City R. R. (uncertain but probably).....	500,000
Owen W. Brennan, Taylor's partner in Washington Market, passed over Morgan's veto, worth probably.....	1,200,000
Conover, City Railroads, probably....	100,000
Schultz, Belt Railroads, probably.....	200,000
Dr. Thompson, Ex-Health officer Brooklyn railroads, probably.....	50,000
J. P. Cummings, Com. of Emigration....	20,000
James Kelly, Tax Com., New York.....	10,000

Total of disinterested advocates of Morgan now beneath my window\$2,399,000

Then befr me my eyes at the same moment are Auditor Benton, salary \$2,500; Quarantine Commissioner Karney, salary about \$2,000; Commissary General Welch, salary, &c., \$2,000; Daniel Ullman, Insurance Department hanger on, uncertain, but wages probably about \$2,000; Inspector General Sherman, whose emoluments are uncertain in consequence of some difficulty with the Governor as to items, but probably about \$2,500; State Assessors Clowes and Watson, each making about \$2,500; State Appraiser Carroll, about \$2,500 worth of disinterestedness. But I must cut short the list. I have but given you a thin slice off the large joint of patriotic Morganism now urging our honest veto-Governor for re-nomination.

I might add the significant fact that Senators Sessions, Monroe, Warner, Lapham, Williams, Ketchum and Robertson, with Assemblymen Miller, McQuade, Milliken, Briggs, Barden, Moulton, Slingertaud and their associates, are, with their peculiar disinterestedness, patriotism and self-sacrifice, pertinaciously urging the re-nomination of the excellent Morgan.

Nor should Jem Nye, Oakley Hall, Dan. Conover and a troupe of our Albany friends of the Third House be omitted from the category of Morgantes charmed, indeed, must they be at the "honesty" of the Executive Veto!

Mr. Weed has emphatically "got" this convention. He is all-powerful here and can wield the elements as he will. As to poor, unsophisticated Mr. Greeley, he is "nowhere."

We think the above facts prove conclusively that Gov. MORGAN and THURLOW WEED had a perfect understanding in regard to his vetoes of some of the corrupt laws of last winter, and that they both used their influence, as stated by Mr. GREBLEY, to procure the passage over MORGAN's vetoes. The vetoes were necessary to shield the Governor and the party proper from the charge of corrupt and scandalous legislation. If MORGAN's vetoes were not a mere pretence, then certainly every corrupt lobby of last winter would not have been so anxious for his re-nomination.

Governor MORGAN was unanimously re-nominated, and not a word of condemnation was heard against the extravagance of the last Legislature, or the remarkable conduct of Governor MORGAN, in regard to his vetoes, but indirectly at least, the conduct of Governor MORGAN and his corrupt Legislature of last winter, was endorsed. It is, therefore, evident that WEED, ROGUES and the lobby of last winter, will have the control and management of the next Legislature, if the Republicans carry the State. If MORGAN should be re-elected, with a Republican majority to the next Legislature, we may look out for greater profligacy and corruption at the session of 1861, than was that of the last session.

It is for the tax payers in the State to decide whether they will prolong the system of Legisla-

tive corruption, by electing Gov. MORGAN and a Republican Legislature. If they wish to continue the system, they will vote for the Republican candidates. If they desire, however, prudent Legislation, and an economical administration of the State Government, they will vote to defeat MORGAN, WEED, and the lobby of last winter. Any change will be an improvement certainly.

The democratic party, who have always opposed the system of debt and taxation have placed in nomination for Governor Hon. WILLIAM KELLY, of Dutchess Co., who is an extensive farmer, and has long been connected with the State Agricultural Society, and is now one of the active managers of the State Agricultural College. The nomination of WILLIAM F. ALLEN, of Oswego, for Lieut. Governor, is conceded to be a good nomination. The ability, integrity and high sense of honor of both gentlemen is a sure guarantee to the tax payers of the State, that there can be no more squandering of the people's money if they are elected. Their political opponents are compelled to speak in their praise. We annex the following:

The *Albany Statesman* (Republican,) with unusual candor, admits:

"Hon. William Kelly, the nominee for Governor, is the stoutest man they have in the State. He is one of the purest and truest men the sun ever shone upon—one of the few, the very few, that has never betrayed an ambition for office, and who has always discharged the trusts the people have imposed upon him, with a fidelity that recognized the public good as superior to the supremacy of party and the advancement of partisans.

"Judge Allen, the candidate for Lieutenant Governor, has been more in public life than Mr. Kelly, and always with a credit to himself and honor to the position he was filling.

"These men deserve the confidence and support of the people as individuals. If elected, they would do much good, and no wrong. To defeat them, it will require men of equal personal and political integrity."

The *Eve. Journal* renders a similar tribute to the worth of the candidates:

THE DOUGLAS STATE TICKET.—The Hon. Wm. Kelly, the Douglas nominee for Governor, is a retired merchant, of large fortune, of much general information and excellent character.

Judge Allen, the candidate for Lt. Governor, is Judge of the Supreme Court, whose personal, professional and judicial character is irreproachable.

The *New York Times*, says:

"The Douglas Democrats have completed their State ticket, and their selection indicates a disposition not to give up the State without a trial. Their nominee for Governor, Wm. Kelly, is a gentleman of estimable character and of wide influence beyond the circle of politics. He has wealth, culture, rural tastes and habits, and considerable acquaintance with political life and public affairs. He served in the State Senate in 1853 and 1854, and won universal confidence and esteem. The other names on the ticket embody a good deal of local strength.

Tax-payers, which of the two State tickets do you think will be the most likely to promote the best interest of the State?

It is for you to determine whether the run-indebted policy—the corrupt partizan Legislation and annually increasing taxation shall continue? Let your votes in November decide whether you prefer an economical or an extravagant and corrupt State administration.

REPUBLICAN CORRUPTION.

The shameless robbery of the last Legislature, under the lead of Gov. MORGAN, THURLOW WEED, and one of the most voracious lobbies ever congregated at the capital of the State, was denounced as follows by the Republican Journals:

From the *Evening Post*, (Republican) April 18.

"We must say for it, that, in our confident belief, so corrupt and shameless a body of men never came together in this State. The name of the Legislature of 1860, will be a term of scorn, a by-word, and a hissing, as long as it is remembered."

From the *Courier and Enquirer*, (Republican) same day.

"The present Legislature, as a legislative body, has won for itself an undying fame. A worse one could hardly have been formed."

From the *Tribune*, (Republican,) same day.

"We do not believe it is possible that another body so reckless, not merely of right, but of decency—not merely corrupt, but shameless—will be assembled within our halls for the next ten years."

Will any tax-payer doubt the charges of base and profligate corruption which has been made against the whole body of Republican Legislators and office-holders, after the admission made by the Republican journals as above set-forth? We think every tax-payer is convinced of the plundering proclivities of nearly all of the Republican leaders.

But notwithstanding the conceded admission of the dishonesty of the last Legislature and the Republican State officers of THE ALBANY LOBBY, MARSHALLED BY WEED AND HIS ASSOCIATES, have re-nominated Gov. MORGAN and Lt. Gov. CAMPBELL, at their recent State Convention.

The re-nomination of MORGAN by the lobby influence of last winter, shows such a perfect contempt for the interest and wishes of the people and especially for a large portion of the Republican press and voters, that it would seem that the corruptionists rely upon using a portion of their corrupt gains of last winter in purchasing votes enough to insure the election of their State ticket and a majority of the members

of the next Assembly. Will the tax-payers of the State endorse the scandalous legislative frauds of last winter, by voting for MORGAN and Republican members of Assembly? Look at the tax of $3\frac{1}{2}$ mills levied by the last Legislature, which will draw over FIVE MILLIONS from the hard earnings of the people the present year.

Who has made more out of the Legislature than Governor Morgan?

At a Republican caucus in Brooklyn. Hon. S. D. BACKUS, Ex-member of Assembly, (Rep.) charged Gov. MORGAN with being a Legislative speculator, as follows:

Gov. MORGAN's connection with the consolidation of the New York Central Railroad, by which, while a State Senator in 1853, he had acquired his great wealth, of the many schemes to increase his own patronage, was that he persistently lobbied by his private Secretary, for the sale of the Quarantine Ground at private sale, in one lot, instead of by the Commissioners in small lots.

It is a notorious fact that MORGAN when State Senator, made more than Two HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS out of his position during the two years.

The proof against MORGAN is now too strong for any one to doubt, that he used his influence indirectly, if not directly, to induce the Legislature to pass many of the infamous bills, for plundering the people over his vote. Will Mr. BACKUS and the Brooklyn Republicans support Gov. MORGAN? They have repudiated and denounced Dr. TURVILL their Republican member, for voting for the same bills. We say emphatically, that no good citizen will vote for MORGAN, who is fully acquainted with his political schemes for gain.

DOUGLAS' RECEPTION & SPEECH AT NORFOLK, VIRGINIA.

NORFOLK, MAY 26, 1860.

On landing, Judge Douglas expressed his thanks for the unexpected warmth of his welcome, and for a couple of hours afterwards was occupied in receiving his friends at the hotel.

During the day he visited Portsmouth, by invitation, and was escorted to the Ocean House there, and underwent the inevitable and dreary ceremony of a reception.

In the evening an immense crowd gathered on the streets of Norfolk, bonfires were lighted, bands played, and a queer time of

it altogether was had, fermenting an enthusiasm foreign to the Norfolkites. A committee of arrangements was formed, and under their directions the whole body of people proceeded to the Court House yard.

Judge Douglas soon appeared there also, and taking his stand on the topmost step of the stone flight leading to the entrance of the building, he proceeded at once to address the the assemblage, computed at six thousand people. He spoke for nearly two hours, and made one of the most forcible of his popular sovereignty speeches. This was the burden of his speech throughout, interspersed with occasional references to the men and topics attracting most attention a few years ago, and with which, from his late speeches, the readers of the *Union* are familiar.

In the middle of his address a slip of paper was handed to him. It was cut from the *Norfolk Daily Argus*, and contained two polite questions for Judge Douglas.

Having ascertained the question thus propounded, he said thereon, I am not in the habit of answering questions thus propounded to me in the course of an address, but on this occasion I will comply with the request and respond very frankly and unequivocally to these two questions.

The first question is if Abraham Lincoln be elected President of the United States will the Southern States be justified in seceding from the Union?

To this I emphatically answer no. (Great applause.) The election of a man to the Presidency by the American people, in conformity with the constitution of the United States, would not justify any attempt at dissolving this glorious confederacy. (Applause.) Now I will read you the next question and then answer it.

Question—If they, the Southern States, secede from the Union upon the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln, before he commits an overt act against their constitutional rights, will you advise or vindicate resistance by force to their secession?

Voices—"No, no! Bell men say no, Douglas."

Mr. Douglas—I answer emphatically that it is the duty of the President of the United States and all others in authority under him, to enforce the laws of the United States as passed by Congress and as the courts expound them. (Cheers.) And I, as in duty bound by my oath of fidelity to the Constitution, would do all in my power to aid the government of the United States in maintaining the supremacy of the laws against all resistance to them, come from what quarter it might. (Good.) In other words, I think the President of the United States whoever he may be, should treat all attempts to break up the Union, by resistance to its laws, as Old Hickory treated the nullifiers in 1832. (Applause.) The laws must be enforced, but at the same time, be it remembered, it is the duty of every citizen of

every State, and every public functionary, to preserve, maintain and vindicate the rights of every citizen and the rights of every State in the Union. I hold that the constitution has a remedy for every grievance that may arise within the limits of the Union. I am very frank in answering these questions. I am not in favor of any policy which would tend to give rise to complaints or murmurings, much less to such as would call for resistance from any quarter.

I acknowledge the inherent and inalienable right to revolution whenever a grievance becomes too burdensome to be borne. I acknowledge the right of every man to rebel and change the form of government under which he lives whenever it proves destructive to the ends for which it was established. That is a right, however, never to be resorted to until the operations of the government become more grievous than the consequences of revolution. And therefore I say that the mere inauguration of a President of the United States whose political opinions were, in my judgment, hostile to the Constitution and safety of the Union, without an overt act on his part, without striking a blow at our Constitution or our rights, is not such a grievance as would justify revolution or secession. (Cheers.)—Hence, I say, whoever may be elected President of the United States, he must be sustained in the exercise of all his just constitutional prerogatives and powers. If he transcends them we will punish him with all the rigor of the law: (A storm of applause.) I, for one, will sustain with all my energy the President whenever he may be in the exercise of all the powers conferred upon him by the constitution, but I would take just as much pleasure in hanging him if he transcended those powers, as I feel pleasure in knowing that you hanged John Brown when he was guilty of murder and treason against the State of Virginia. (Renewal of storm.) I am a law-abiding man, a Union-loving man, and I believe the Union can be maintained by a faithful observance of the Constitution, but I insist in exacting the fulfillment in good faith of every provision of that constitution; I insist on a line of policy which will place all the people of all the States in an exact equality, and maintain and protect them in their just rights, but which will also compel obedience to the constitution and the constituted authorities of the country. Now, these questions put to me the first day I landed on Virginia soil, having emanated from the friends of the secessionist candidate, I ask that like questions may be also put to those candidates, and that you insist upon such frank and unequivocal answers as I have given.

A Voice—"They could not do it square."

Mr. Douglas—Remember that Mr. Breckenridge was nominated on the theory that the election of Lincoln was preferable to that of Douglas. Now, no man doubts that Breckenridge's friends had not seceded

Baltimore, but had acquiesced in the legitimate action of the Convention, I would have in this contest beaten Lincoln by the popular vote.

A Voice—"That's so."

Mr. Douglas—Less than one-third of the Convention seceded from the two-thirds, on the ground that Southern honor and Southern rights were not safe in my hands, and that hence it was necessary to divide the party in every State of the Union so that Lincoln might have a chance of running in between the Democratic forces of the Democratic party and get elected by a majority vote.

A Voice—"That's so."

Mr. Douglas—The only ostensible and true object sought in making a Breckenridge ticket in the Northern States was to divide the Democratic party so as to give Lincoln every one of those States, so that I tell you if Lincoln be elected President, it will be the secessionists whom you will have to blame for it.

A Voice—"That's so."

Mr. Douglas—Lincoln has no hope of being elected except through the efforts of the secessionists, who have divided the Democratic party—supposing that Breckenridge could carry every Southern State—though it now seems he is not going to carry a single one by the people. Still, by dividing the North, he gives every one of the States to Lincoln, thus allowing him to be elected by the popular vote. Why, what was the true aspect of the contest before the secession?—Lincoln had no show whatever for more than two States till the Breckenridge division took place, and I would have beaten him in every State but Vermont and Massachusetts. As it is, I think I will beat him in almost all of them yet. (Cheers) But should Lincoln be elected, the secessionists, who nominated and now support Breckenridge, will be entitled to the credit of it, and upon them will rest the responsibility of having adopted the fatal policy, and dreading the result of their own rash and unpatriotic acts which give to Lincoln a chance of success, they come forward and ask me if I will

help them to dissolve the Union in the event of Lincoln being raised to the Presidential chair. I tell them no—never on earth.—(Cheers and cries of "Good.")

I am for putting down Northern abolitionism, but am also for putting down Southern secessionists, and that too, by the exercise of the same constitutional power. ("Good.") I believe that the peace, the harmony and the safety of this country depend upon destroying both factions. (Cheers) Both parties, if parties they can be called, are allies in a common cause; for however hostile they may be to each other, however opposed in purposes and objects, yet their course of action tends to the same deplorable result; and without meaning any disrespect or personal unkindness, I believe that, in the event of the success of either party, the success of Northern abolitionists or that of Southern secessionists, the Union and our glorious Constitution are alike put in peril and danger. Northern abolitionism could not exist for any length of time except there was a counterpoise demanding the intervention of the South. The Republicans demand Congressional interference against slavery, while the secessionists demand that Congress shall interfere to protect and extend slavery.

This is the pivot upon which both parties turn; this, my friends, is the whole state of the case; these are the dangers to be apprehended, and, thus it devolves upon you to rally to the rescue, and by voting the National Democratic ticket placed before the country by the Baltimore Convention, to preserve this glorious Union. (Cheers and cries of "And we will do it.")

His speech has made a most favorable impression here in Norfolk. Numbers of Breckenridge men publicly proclaim their defection from that party and their adherence to Douglas.

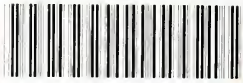
On Monday Mr. Douglas will visit Old Point Comfort, and thence proceed to Petersburg. He will address the people there on Tuesday, and proceed to Raleigh to attend a Convention to be held on Thursday next.—He halts there, and addresses a public meeting on Friday.

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